Teachers' work in curricular markets: conditions of design and relations between the IB Diploma and the local curriculum.

Catherine Doherty and Paul Shield
Centre for Learning Innovation
Queensland University of Technology
Victoria Park Road
KELVIN GROVE 4059
Brisbane AUSTRALIA

c.doherty@qut.edu.au; p.shield@qut.edu.au

To be published in *Curriculum Inquiry*, 42 (3), June 2012

Teachers' work in curricular markets: Conditions of design and relations between the IB Diploma and the local curriculum.

Abstract:

School level strategy enabled by neoliberal choice policies can produce internal curricular markets whereby branded curricula such as the International Baccalaureate are offered alongside the local government curriculum in the same school. This project investigated how such curricular markets operating in Australian schools impacted on teachers' work. This paper reports on teachers work in three case study schools that offered both the International Baccalaureate Diploma program and the local senior schooling curriculum, then draws on an online survey of 225 teachers in 26 such schools across Australia. The analysis reveals the impact of curricular markets along two dimensions: the curriculum's internal design; and the relational aspects of how schools manage to deliver tandem offerings within institutional constraints. Teachers working in the IBD Diploma program were shown to relish its design, despite additional demands, while teachers working in just the local curriculum reported more relational issues. The paper argues that these trends suggest that there are winners and losers emerging in the work conditions produced by curricular markets.

> As well as being a definition of the pupils' learning, "the curriculum" is also a definition of the teachers' work. The way it is organised, and the social practices that surround it, have profound consequences for teachers. (Connell, 1985, p. 87)

Introduction

This paper explores how having more than one curriculum in the same school defines and shapes teachers' work. The context lies in the neo-liberal "choice" policies that now dominate educational reform in Australia and elsewhere (Levin & Belfield, 2003). The citizen has been recast as a consumer with the "right" to exercise choice between schools, and increasingly between alternative curricula and credentials offered within the same school. As a market strategy, a growing number of schools now offer branded curricula, such as Steiner, Montessori, and International Baccalaureate programs, alongside the local government equivalent. Institutional resources of funded time, space, expertise and professional goodwill must be found or stretched to initiate then sustain tandem offerings. This paper explores the implications of this school level strategy for teachers' work, and how teachers absorb the systemic demands in their work. It will be argued that this internal curricular market produces intensified conditions for teachers' work but there are compensating professional satisfactions for some which explain their willingness to underwrite the strategy.

The International Baccalaureate Organisation's (IBO) Diploma program (IBD) for the senior years has flourished under choice policies as an iconic alternative to local curricula. This phenomenon is not limited to the independent sector: In 2011, 640 (89%) of the 721 schools offering the IBD in the US were public schools, while 139 (64%) of the 217 IBD schools in the UK, 117 (84%) of the 139 IBD schools in Canada and 11 (18%) of the 62 IBD schools in Australia were government schools (www.ibo.org, as at 8 February 2011). This paper focuses on

the International Baccalaureate Diploma (IBD) and the internal curricular market it has created in a growing number of Australian schools.

The IBD is designed broadly as a liberal arts education, requiring six subjects: a first language (including World Literature in translation); a second language; Maths (at three levels of difficulty); a science subject; a humanities subject and an arts subject. Three of these must be taken at the "higher level" as opposed to the "standard level". In addition, the innovative interdisciplinary subject, "Theory of Knowledge" (TOK) explores the epistemological premises of different subjects. Further, students participate in an extra-curricular program of "Creativity, Action and Service" (CAS), and undertake an "Extended Essay" in a discipline of their choice. Assessment involves some internally assessed tasks then culminates in external examinations set by the IBO. Teachers teaching in the IBD can become examiners for the IBD, which would be contract work above and beyond their school appointments.

The Australian educational sector is refracted through eight different states and territories, each with its own education department, curricular "culture" (Yates, Collins, & O'Connor, 2011), and assessment regime. In the post-war years, comprehensive high schooling came to replace dual academic/vocational tracks across the states (W. F. Connell, 1993), but since the National Training Reform Agenda of the mid-1980s and 1990s, schools have increasingly offered vocational qualifications as an adjunct to the academic curriculum. Across the states, the final two years of schooling constitute the matriculation certificate, in which students are encouraged to pursue their interests and strengths through subject choice. This specialisation differs from the IBD's requirement of breadth of study. Academic distinction in Australian curricula lies in the nature of the subjects chosen and level of achievement, not in Honours or Advanced Placement track as in the US, A levels as in the UK, or Higher Level studies as in the IBD.

The IBD's presence in a small number of Australian schools has been championed by neoliberal advocates keen to foster alternatives to state educational "monopolies" (see Doherty, 2009). However, some state jurisdictions have been more accommodating of the IBD than others (see Doherty, in press) and it can accrue different relational properties in each setting. Since the 1970s, the IBD has been offered in small pockets of relatively privileged or transnational communities, but following adjustments in some states' legislation, it is becoming a popular strategy to attract the academically able student and bolster school reputation in local educational markets (Doherty, 2009). Currently, only three schools (selective "academies" in Queensland) offer just the IBD. It is more typically found as one choice of secondary certifications within a school, that is, in a curricular market. In every site, IBD students are required to pay an additional fee, to cover their examination registration with the IBO and additional school administrative costs such as postage to courier exam papers to international examiners. At the Queensland Academies, the annual program fee for 2012 is in the vicinity of A$1800 (approximately US$1900) (http://www.qldacademies.eq.edu.au/studententry.html, accessed 25 January 2012). This distinguishes the IBD enrolment from the local curriculum enrolment for which there is no such fee. The IBDs growing uptake in the Australian educational landscape is not the result of any mandated reform, but more a response to the conditions of possibility enabled by neoliberal policy. Curricular markets thus have emerged as isolated, localised change rather than uniform reform across the sector.

The IBD curriculum is developed and governed by the IBO, an independent non-profit organisation, thus outside the purview of any particular schooling system. While the IBD relies on local schools' structures, personnel and facilities, its design has not been constrained by systemic considerations of how to deliver what the curriculum stipulates. The IBD is delivered in diverse national and system settings, hence much variability in institutional realisations and

teaching conditions could be expected. The designers behind the IBD are not accountable to local staffing formulae, union negotiations, industrial awards, or school budgets, but school managers inevitably are. Mapping its requirements into existing resources and systems is work that each school must do to embed the IBD offering. The school level strategy involves an initial leap of faith that the school can resource the alternative curriculum, and that any systemic risks or costs will in time be compensated by the benefits accrued. This hosting arrangement begs the question in what ways the presence of the IBD might be considered symbiotic (to the mutual advantage of both curricula) and/or parasitic (competing with the host for resources).

This paper offers an empirical study of work practices and politics within Australian schools offering both the IBD and the local government equivalent. Firstly, scholarly literature regarding the IBD and teachers' work is reviewed. The research problem is then developed through the literature's debates, and the mixed methods design of the empirical study outlined. The first analysis describes the arrangements for teachers' work observed in three case study schools. The second analysis presents survey responses from teachers working across 26 such schools to show how teachers differently positioned in curricular markets assess its impact on their work conditions. The conclusion reflects on the impact of curricular markets on the profession.

Literature review

There is a small but growing literature documenting IB programs from a variety of theoretical orientations, both celebratory and critical. It considers the origins, philosophy and orientations of its internationalised curriculum (Cambridge, 2010; Conner, 2009; Hill, 2002; Van Oord, 2007); its global distribution (Bagnall, 2005; Bunnell, 2008; Halicioglu, 2008; Poonoosamy, 2010); the student experience (Payne, 2005); the dispositional outcomes for students (Doherty, Mu, & Shield, 2009; Hayden & Wong, 1997; Heyward, 2002; Resnick, 2009); assessment practices (Allen

& Readman, 2009; Lowe, 2000); its marketing (Doherty, 2009; MacDonald, 2006); and choice rationales (MacKenzie, Hayden, & Thompson, 2003; Paris, 2003).

As yet there has been little empirical investigation of teachers' work in IBD schools. Corbett's (2007) interview study with teachers at an IB school concluded that "the courses are so packed with content there is little room for critical self-reflective teaching and learning on a day-to-day basis" (p. 31). Hugman (2008) offers a narrative of issues emerging around establishment costs, timetabling (that is, the scheduling of classes), and achieving viable enrolments in an independent school as it starts to offer the IBD as an alternative. Both articles report on small studies in settings in which the author was personally involved, but their contrast is telling. Corbett speaks to the work conditions created by the **internal** demands of the IBD, while Hugman speaks to the work conditions created by the school strategy of curricular choice – that is, its **relational** demands. Teachers' work in curricular markets will ultimately be impacted by both dimensions.

Teachers' work more generally is attracting treatment as a sociological object of study following early work that set the agenda. In a qualitative study of secondary schools in two Australian states, Connell (1985) argued that "teachers are workers, teaching is work, and the school is a workplace" (p.69), thus teachers' work and interests are necessary, important aspects of any educational reform. Teachers' work conditions will be embedded in the particular historical moment of the political and industrial "state of play" (p. 136), yet Connell's analysis highlighted the ongoing impact on teachers' work of unresolved contradictions between the "competitive academic curriculum" (p.87) and the students it fails to engage. Connell demonstrated how the timetable, school spaces and the curriculum work as powerful technologies that organise the division of labour in teachers' work, "bound by the facts of staff-student ratios and the school's limited and parcelled time" (p.15). The "competitive academic curriculum" and its associated practices of selecting and distinguishing class groups by academic ability were shown to produce

more and less agreeable teaching conditions for which teachers competed. The book argues that the competitive academic curriculum is privileged over non-academic offerings, and that curricular coexistence is not a benign relationship, but deeply implicated in the class and gender orders of the school and beyond (see also Teese, 2000). The relation described here was between the academic curriculum and vocational or more progressive curricular streams, not the relation between competing academic curricula, as is the case with the IBD.

Furthermore, Connell highlighted the emotional work in the teachers' role - its pleasures, satisfactions, disappointments and stresses - and how teachers absorb systemic contradictions as personal responsibilities. Many secondary teachers reported being emotionally attached to their disciplinary knowledge and hence the competitive academic curriculum in principle. Connell however sees teachers as subjects of the schooling institution, not just its agents. He termed teachers' work a "labour-process-without-an-object" (p.72) so the "definition of their task can expand almost without limit, and the work could be intensified indefinitely" (p.86). The analysis demonstrated how policies of devolution and marketisation increased teachers' workload without any adjustment of teaching loads. The book also highlights how teachers categorised students according to typologies of academic "ability", effort, enthusiasm, or disruptiveness and thus understood them as a work condition, for better or for worse. McLaughlin and Talbert (2001), in their study of teachers' work in 16 diverse secondary schools in California and Michigan similarly argued that the changing nature of the student body acts as a crucial contextual aspect conditioning teachers' work, with its effects filtered by the nature of the professional community and its culture.

Connell represented teachers as a diverse workforce, any professional solidarity fractured by curricular status, schooling system, ideologies, seniority and influence. McLaughlin and Talbert (2001) highlighted differences between disciplinary subcultures, and their internal stratification

by "teacher tracking," that is, "assigning teachers to mostly low-track or to mostly high-track classes" (p. 73). We suggest that the presence of the IBD is another potential source of workforce division and stratification. Helsby's (1999) study of the implementation of new curricula in the UK over the 1980s and 1990s similarly highlighted "the range of cultures (for example, occupational, professional, subject, institutional or department) which profoundly shape teachers' responses to … external demands" (p. 15). Helsby documented the emotions generated by imposed change and her conclusion reflected on the variable, "professional confidence":

> Teachers who are professionally confident have a strong belief not only in their capacity but also in their authority to make important decisions about the conduct of their work. ... professional confidence also implies that the teacher is not overwhelmed by excessive work demands that can never be properly met; the confident teacher has a sense of being able to manage the tasks in hand rather than being driven by them. (p.173)

"Professional confidence" contrasts with what Connell (1985, p. 78) terms "the trauma of the First Year Out" and enables this analysis to distinguish variations in emotional load at different stages of teachers' careers.

Building from Connell, Hargreaves (1994) investigated teachers' work as the modernist secondary schooling responded to the complexities of postmodernity. Hargreaves tested two dominant but opposed explanations of change in teacher's work –its professionalisation, and its deprofessionalisation/ intensification – with interview data collected in Canadian settings. Hargreaves explored three aspects pertinent to this analysis. Firstly, he highlighted the distribution and perception of time as the crucial professional resource. Secondly, he described the "balkanised" (p. 213) competitive schisms between sub-groups of teachers. Thirdly, he

highlighted the capacity for guilt in the emotional labour of teachers' work, making a distinction between "guilt traps" and "guilt trips" (p. 142). The former are the systemic demands and contradictions that produce guilt in teachers when they cannot live up to the open-ended demands of the job in their own and others' eyes. The latter is the individual's internalisation of such professional stress. Hargreaves thus understood teachers' burden of internalised guilt as a public, sociological issue lived as individuals' private stress. This work has contributed to a growing interest in the emotional contours and emotional labour in teachers' work (see Day & Lee, 2011).

Teachers are the key to any educational reform given their capacity to either endorse or resist innovations. Hargreaves suggests that no change is necessarily good or bad in itself, but will incorporate complex and contradictory facets. Teachers are neither fully controlled by the system, nor completely free agents. Reid (2003) considers the curriculum to be "the genesis of control of teachers" (p. 571), but also highlights new forms of control over teachers' labour, including "discursive work practices as well as material practices" (p. 562). Ball (1993) describes the shift in power over teachers that came with their exposure to market discourses. For Ball, the growing autonomy of the manager meant a loss of autonomy for teachers and "a strong potential for differences in interest, values and purpose between the two groups" (p. 120). This study similarly distinguishes between the school level strategy of offering different curricula, and teachers' inheritance of this agenda, whether or not they endorse it. Kelchtermans (2005, p. 997) uses the phrase "vulnerability as a structural condition" to describe how teachers work in conditions not necessarily of their making, but which they must necessarily "endure" (p.999). Day's (2011) longitudinal study of 295 teachers in England documented how professional identities could be "more or less vulnerable at different times and in different ways according to their management of the interaction of a number of socio-cultural/policy workplace and personal influences, and teachers' ability to manage these" (p.49).

These studies could be summarised by Robertson's (2000) observation that "teachers' work world must be connected to 'conjunctural time'" (p. 11), and the context of "particular material conditions and societal settings" (p.12). These conditions underpin the "social settlement", being the institutionalised "architecture of compromises and a framework for consensus"(p.13). Such settlements are temporary, subject to revision as the contextual conditions undergo change, such as in this study with the infusion of market ideology in educational policy, and the effort of "co-opting schools to the competitive state project" (p.165). Robertson points to the emergence of a new more competitive and individualist formula for the "entrepreneurial teacher" (p.168) which is unsettling the profession's service culture.

In Australia Robertson's (1996) earlier labour history of teachers' work identified four phases of structural reform since 1970 that have eroded conditions and intensified their labour. She argued these demands had been sold back to the profession as a new form of professionalism. Most importantly, Robertson argued there will be winners and losers amongst teachers, depending on their orientation to new work conditions "as education takes on the commodity form" (p. 412). The IBD has neatly accrued the high status of the competitive academic curriculum. In addition, with its reputational branding, it potentially displaces or challenges the local form of the competitive academic curriculum. Following Robertson, we argue these market relations will affect conditions for all teachers, whether they teach the IBD or not.

While the previous studies highlight oppositional forces within institutions and systems, Acker's (1999) ethnographic study of teachers' work in two British primary schools offers the interdependent concepts of workplace culture and ethos to capture how the particular institution can also exercises a diffuse influence on teachers' work. Workplace "culture" refers to the specific version of truths and meanings accreted within a school, while "ethos" refers to the

value set shared, and "the school's guiding beliefs as a community" (p. 41). Similarly, McLaughlin and Talbert (2001) documented very different school community cultures, being "the beliefs teachers shared, how they organized their work, and what meanings they made of their teaching careers" (p.10). In this light, it could be expected that a school community will develop some common culture of meanings around its strategy to offer the IBD, and broker shared values to decide who makes what accommodations, so teachers and management can align.

The scholarship on teachers' work reviewed above offers concepts and problematics that help develop the exploratory focus of this paper:

- How does management's decision to offer an alternative curriculum affect the **workplace culture and school ethos**? How is the IBD made to fit into the timetable, industrial conditions and school systems devised around local curricula?
- How do teachers relate to the presence of the IBD in their school? What **emotions, guilt traps and guilt trips** are generated around the tandem offerings? How do teachers with different degrees of **professional confidence** cope? Does the alternative become another source of competitive rift between teachers, or a common project?
- Who gets to teach in which curriculum? Are there **winners and losers** in curricular markets?
- What categories of students are invoked by the alternative offerings? Do they create **more and less agreeable classrooms** for teachers' work?

Methodology

This mixed methods project involved an online survey (conducted 2008-2009) of 253 teachers in 26 Australian schools offering both the IBD and local curricula, and case studies (2009) of three such schools in different states. The study commenced with a pilot study involving focus group

interviews with parents, teachers and students at a school offering both the IBD and the local curriculum. This invited comments on the school's strategy and day-to-day management of two curricula, then the IBD designs, experience and outcomes. The teachers' responses quickly drew issues of workload, the equity of class sizes, the nature of IBD students, stresses and satisfactions to the surface. The survey questions were developed from the pilot study then trialled across a number of iterations. Invitations to participate were distributed to teachers after gaining the necessary ethical, departmental and principal permissions. Of the 50 Australian schools offering the IBD in 2008, responses were received from 26 (53%) schools across five Australian states and two territories.

Surveys offer the capacity to capture and depict an overview of group characteristics, attitudinal patterns and their interplay with demographics, but are limited in their capacity to disrupt assumptions built into the instrument. Surveys also presume some common ground in sampling design, which in this case glosses over both the different local curricula in each state, the different modus operandi adopted by schools in their local implementation of the IBD, and the different solutions to similar problems as captured in the case studies. Mixed methods research is emerging as the "third methodological movement" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, p. 45) offering a pragmatic compromise devoted more to the research question, than to methodological purism. This research design adopted a "dialectic" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, p.18) mixed methods design, juxtaposing the quantitative survey of teachers' work and attitudes across schools, with the detail of interview and observational data from case studies. For this reason, the first analysis briefly outlines how the case study schools managed tandem curricular offerings to give some sense of the institutional complexities that lie behind the second quantitative analysis of aggregated survey responses to attitudinal questions.

Each of the three sites was visited for two separate weeks across 2009 by the same researcher to understand the particularities of each case as a workplace, and the "why" and "how" of the IBD in each context. The sites were selected to tap different ecologies and histories for the IBD. The schools were in different Australian states, each of which manages its own school curriculum. Thus in each case study the IBD had to relate to a different government curricula. Two of the schools were government schools, while the third was a fee-paying independent school. The three case studies were also chosen to display different IBD histories, from longstanding involvement, to recent uptake.

Across the three sites, the researcher observed a total of 60 classes (IB curriculum, local curriculum and combined classes), and conducted individual semi-structured interviews with 62 teaching staff including school administrators, curriculum leaders, experienced and early career IBD teachers across the disciplines, and some non-IBD teachers in each site[i]. Teacher interview topics included: staff development and support for the IBD offering; local implementation of the IBD and its workload demands; their professional evaluation of the IBD design; managing work across two curricula; and their comparison of the work conditions in the IBD and local curriculum. Group interviews were also conducted with a total of 65 students, including many enrolled in the IBD, five who had changed to the local curriculum, and seven enrolled in local curricula. Student interview topics included: who chooses the IBD why; the IBD experience; the comparative local curriculum experience; and curricular choice outcomes. In addition, the researcher accessed relevant school newsletters, course documents, IBD student work archives, school assemblies, staff meetings, student consultations and parent briefings. Interviews were typically 30 minutes to one hour in duration. The following summaries draw on a thematic analysis of both field observations and interview accounts to build a rich description of teachers' work in each site's curricular market.

The case studies and their differences

School A is a government school with a largely middle class catchment. The IBD is well established as an alternative offering in this school's culture and part of its identity as a school of choice. The local curriculum was sufficiently flexible to allow the school to plan programs and classes that satisfied both the IBD and the local curriculum, hence the timetable could typically "piggyback" the IBD on the local subjects. As one teacher explained, "Our regular course work has covered a lot for the IB curriculum. It is quite a comfortable fit." Given this local flexibility and the IBD's more prescriptive guidelines, the local curriculum tended to become "IB-ised" in this site: "Our courses in sciences are pretty much the IB course". This helped make the tandem offering a more coherent and manageable work load, but teachers and students endured a double assessment load, fulfilling requirements for both curricula.

The school was entering a new, more competitive phase with nearby schools preparing to offer the IBD. While one teacher had close links with another IBD teacher nearby, most of the teachers interviewed were more circumspect about forging such relations or sharing resources in an increasingly competitive market environment. More generally, one teacher expressed her discomfort about the presence of the IBD and its fee structure in a public education system:

> I came into the [state] system to be a public school teacher, and there is something about teaching students who paid a fee to engage in this course … there's something about that which rubs up against me the wrong way.

The IBD's presence as a curricular commodity in her school troubled her vocational commitment to public education: "I have that feeling about the [state] system that I want to do my best that I can to make that system stronger." Another IBD teacher at this school described similar ambivalence. While the IBD's professional development was highly valued, some IBD

teachers were conscious of its drain on the public school's limited resources. In contrast, the principal considered any such expenditure an investment that benefited the whole school community.

Management timetabled additional tutorials for some Year 12 Higher Level IBD subjects with larger enrolments. These were outside school hours on top of the students' regular workload. One teacher explained the necessity of this additional time for curriculum coverage: "In the tutorials, we try to make up anything that we haven't met ... students have been given extra homework for the things that could not be covered in the class." This meant that the IBD day could start at 8am and finish at 6pm. The absence of such scheduled tutorials for other IBD subjects with smaller class sizes was a source of mounting inter-departmental resentment, as these teachers found it equally challenging to deliver the local and IBD (at both Standard and Higher Level) in the same classroom. A teacher with a small IBD class complained, "The school is not treating all the subjects fairly ... some teachers have to do it in their own time." Notably, she still felt the extra class time was necessary, whether or not it was formally resourced. The school also operated a special timetable for IBD students in the term before their final exams. The allocation of time according to student numbers again was contentious. Those with smaller class groups felt their smaller allocation was "not fair".

All classes observed at this school were distinguished by their fast-paced instruction, seamless routines, warm teacher-student relations and absence of behaviour management concerns. There were no diversions, no interruptions, and students offered extended thoughtful contributions in classroom discussions. While two teachers considered their IBD classes "a dream job," three early career teachers reported feeling extremely stressed about fulfilling the requirements of the two curricula in one piggybacked classroom, especially "the bits that don't fit", and about incompatible modes of assessment. One young teacher summed it up, "Everything is totally

overwhelming". All three admired the IBD curriculum and its philosophy in principle, and considered IBD experience to be valuable for their career, but the mastery of an unfamiliar curriculum at this stage of their career while reconciling it with the local curriculum in the same class was considered "extremely frustrating". One expressed an acute sense of the guilt trap set up for her:

> What I don't like about that, number one, is I sort of feel like we set students up to fail. As an educator, that's just totally not okay. Secondly, it still reflects on me even though I am given less time … I can't pull time out of nothing.

These early career accounts contrasted with those of more highly experienced, professionally confident teachers, who expressed no such stress. One head of a department balanced this work against the satisfactions on offer: "I just don't feel it's stressful ... maybe it's because we have the enthusiastic and interesting students."

Some teachers made themselves available to IBD students in the holidays to support work on their extended essays. One science teacher again explained how this extra effort is rewarded by the students' effort: "We just try to find the time ... I don't mind putting in more work because they work very hard". The marking of IBD internal assessment also ate into teachers' holidays and weekends given their detailed rubrics, as one teacher explained: "I probably take a long time to mark because they are fairly large and also they are open-ended. You have to mark it and match it up to very detailed assessment criteria." One early career teacher had taught two hours a week as unpaid work the first time she was involved in the IBD, because she felt she owed this to the students. She had not continued this personal subsidy of the curriculum, because she could no longer find the time. Similarly, where TOK oral presentations had previously been

scheduled on a Saturday, the staff involved had since insisted that assessment be done in school time.

To cater for some non-English speaking background students, all three schools helped to identify private teachers/tutors with the requisite expertise who were then contracted by the students' families to support the World Literature subject in their first language. Such flexible "**outsourcing"** made these contracted teachers' pay and conditions contingent on the families' capacity and willingness to pay. At School A, a group of students were refusing to pay for their tutor's time in marking formative assessment. They considered it "a waste of time" when the only feedback they received was "good". These arrangements left the contracted tutor in very vulnerable work conditions with limited institutional recourse.

The IB Coordinator still carried a sizeable teaching load. The role did not receive mainstream office support as would the management of the local curriculum, hence the Coordinator was responsible for public promotion of the program and curriculum leadership as well as a myriad of day to day duties, including counselling students, and posting students' work directly to examiners across the globe. This mix meant a busy day of constant interruptions, and an ongoing fear of papers getting lost in the mail.

To summarise teachers' work in School A's internal curricular market, the IBD presents as a mixed blessing. Many teachers relished its design in principle. However, its greatest demand in this site was the expectation that teachers teach both the IBD and the local curriculum in the same classes. This conflation worked better for some than others. While experienced, professionally confident teachers could cope, early career teachers appeared stressed, caught in the "guilt trap" of feeling underprepared to help their students in this high stakes undertaking. In addition, the IBD's curricular demands exceeded the school's industrial conditions, and annexed

teachers' time beyond the school day and in holidays. While some teachers willingly subsidised its considerable demands beyond the call of duty, others were, or had become, more circumspect about its demands and its impact on the school more generally. There were grievances between teachers when smaller classes did not receive the same formal resourcing to allow IBD differentiation. The winners in this site were the professionally confident teachers for whom the IBD's intellectual challenge was a source of professional satisfaction. The losers in this site were the contracted tutor, the early career teachers, and in some teachers' opinion, non-IBD students who were perceived to be not receiving their equitable share of school resources.

School B is another government school in a different state. It had recently developed a stratified meritocratic culture, with an academically selective stream across the high school years culminating in the option of the IBD. A senior manager explained the school's strategy: "we want to be a school of choice for those people who are going to be curriculum choosers as opposed to curriculum users." There was a palpable sense of excitement and pride in the relatively new IBD project amongst the school staff and what it meant for the school's reputation. The major point of difference with the local curriculum was in assessment modes. The summative external exams of the IBD were considered by one teacher to foster "building knowledge" better than the local curriculum's shorter assessment cycles. This school, like the others visited, devoted considerable time in the last semester to practicing IBD exam technique, coaching the students in marker's expectations, and doing mock exams using past papers. The school had absorbed what the manager described as the initial "huge, huge cost" to invest in IBO preparation for staff in a variety of roles, and has sent more teachers subsequently. The principal likened this investment to "spreading a virus throughout the school" because IBD teachers also taught classes in the local curriculum. There was however some concern over IBD-trained teachers being poached and this investment lost.

This school had experimented with its IBD implementation, and developed a preparatory pathway in the preceding year to build a sense of higher expectations for the IBD program. The school then offered separate, often smaller, classes for most IBD subjects except occasionally where the nature of the subject's treatment allowed the IBD and local to be combined, some if not all of the time. Teachers in these situations were observed to run what we termed "bifurcated" classrooms. For example one teacher explained, "I just had two subjects in one class, a jazz subject and an ensemble class", setting one group up in self-directed work, then working intensely with the other. Within this site's modus operandi, the IBD-only classes and cohort became quite distinct in identity and ethos, with more extended conversations, sustained on-task engagement and the marked absence of any overt behaviour management in contrast to other classrooms. "These kids stay on task longer", one teacher explained, suggesting there were more agreeable conditions for teachers' work in the IBD.

While one teacher considered her small IB class "a lovely dream class", she also described some guilt over being a "winner": "I used to teach a class with eight kids, and somewhere someone has to have more kids because of that". For another teacher, such guilt wasn't only about class size: "we pull the very intelligent kids out and put them all together. Well, that's really good for those students. It's not so great to some in the [local curriculum]". One maths teacher explained how the Higher Level IBD curriculum demanded teachers with better maths qualifications, thus drawing this increasingly rare and valuable species of teacher out of the other curriculum and junior maths: "the problem was that I had very few teachers that had expertise in that." This practice resonates with McLaughlin and Talbert's (2001) concept of teacher-tracking.

Like School A, extra time was harvested for IBD activities where possible, for example, by excusing these students from assemblies, and timetabling extra tutorials after school and

extended arts "workshops" until 6pm. In addition, the IBD Year 11 students attend school for two weeks longer than the other students, to stage IBD internal assessment tasks.

When first staffing the IBD, the school's call for volunteers received a strong response. It particularly attracted more senior teachers and those experienced in other systems using external exams. The school has since been able to staff the IBD largely by self-selection. This self-selection carried the expectation of extra time commitments as well as professional satisfactions, as explained by a school manager:

> it's very obvious that our better teachers…the ones we identify as our senior, most experienced and quite often those that get good results all the time…they're the ones that are putting their hands up to do this program…because …it's a really full on effort and time to teach in this program and I don't think a lot of people recognise that. … they've got the IB kids and they're really high level kids … and they really want to do well and so they've got no problems with them … such as behavioural, doing homework or assignments and all that sort of stuff. But the fact of the matter is … it's a very long and hard course to teach and the teachers invest a lot of their time. Our history teacher, … she comes in and does holiday workshops with them. They run tutorials after school, mostly or especially the higher level but sometimes just for the students who you know want that extra time to do well in the course… they wouldn't be putting hands up for it if they didn't want it.

The nature of the students aggregated in these IBD classes created its own pressures. One teacher explained: "I do heaps more preparation with IB than when I was preparing for the [local government] classes. … I think the difference is the IB kids always ask interesting questions so I read a lot more." The IBD courses were also considered an ongoing challenge

given disciplinary selections and treatments different from the local curriculum. An experienced English teacher admitted: "I feel much more qualified every year but also still overwhelmed every year I teach the IB that are we doing it right, have I got the body of knowledge that I need." The supervision of students' extended essays was also considered a challenge: "I feel a bit inadequate … For me that's the most intimidating part of teaching the course."

At this school the IB Coordinator's role was a similar catchall from leadership to student counselling, but with regular administrative assistance. One member of the school's senior staff expressed concern over the inequitable quality of service extended to IBD students:

> I'm always aware that we are putting more into resourcing for IB given … per capita, that the classes quite often are smaller, quite often they would have three or four textbooks to borrow. They are allowed to borrow resources over the holidays ... We sometimes offer night time tutorials for them or night time studies sessions like a boarding school type thing. They arrive at 6 o'clock, they have study till 9 o'clock, somebody supervises them ... We sometimes open during the holidays for the students to come in and use the resource centre … they have access to teachers … the supervision for the extended essay happens outside the teacher's shift. That falls on the teacher to do that as well. That's not something that we pay for but there's an expectation that the teacher will do it so … they're very, very well resourced.

On the other hand, the same manager acknowledged that there was intense pressure on teachers to ensure that the IBD students achieved their Diplomas, "because the risk is too great, but it's a very, very big risk."

To summarise the case of teachers' work in School B's curricular market, this school had purposefully constructed very agreeable conditions for both teachers and students in their IBD classes, and the challenge was relished for its professional satisfactions. The IBD's position in the school's stratified internal market meant that it could effectively cream the most academic students and the "better" teachers in the school community. There was some guilt that the IBD was garnering an inequitable share of school resources to the disadvantage of other students, being the losers in this equation. Like School A, the IBD had stretched the school day and school year for its teachers and students in this site, but no resentment around this work intensification was expressed at this early stage of the project.

School C is an independent, high-fee school in a third state with yet another local curriculum and assessment regime. The IBD was well established in its internal curricular market and a distinguishing feature in the school's branding. The IBD coordinator described the school's "IB promise" as an expectation that "you will be with like-minded people". To this end, the school had developed pathways accelerating "IB bound" students.

This school operated IBD-specific classes except in the arts, languages, and physics, which piggybacked with the local curriculum in Year 11, if not Year 12. In contrast to School A's flexible local curriculum, School C had a more prescriptive local curriculum, so faced more challenges in reconciling the two, each with strict guidelines on internal assessment and time allocations. Some non-IBD students in these classes "felt sorry" for their teachers: "I think it's harder on the teachers because they have to make sure they are covering enough information for both and they have to mark both to quite different scales." As a result, these conflated classrooms often ran bifurcated lesson plans – one classroom, but two lessons underway. In contrast to School A with its relatively flexible local curriculum, teachers at this school were more resistant to dual curriculum classes. One teacher explained: "It's doable but not desirable.

They are two different courses, full stop." In IBD only classes, the distinction between higher level and standard level similarly produced bifurcated plans at times, organising revision tasks for Standard Level, while covering additional content for Higher Level. One teacher had recently resigned over a decision to combine the local curriculum and IBD in one class given low numbers. By another teacher's account:

> the teacher stood up to them and said "I cannot morally do this. It is not fair, it is not correct for me to be trying to teach in the [local curriculum] and prepare these students for an exam and be teaching IB."

Like the other cases, this school stretched the school day and year to accommodate the many demands of the IBD, offering additional classes after hours for Higher Level sciences. In addition, lunch time meetings were called to check assessment items, Art teachers organised gallery visits in the holidays, and staff scheduled consultations in their preparation periods. Many of the teachers interviewed aimed to cover the IBD curriculum within three semesters so the balance could be devoted to revision and "mock" exam practice. This goal further increased the pacing of instruction, and colonised the students' semester breaks with substantial tasks they called "holiday homework". An early career teacher described her first year of teaching the IBD as being "in the deep end" and isolating, its ambitious scope and pacing regrettably forcing her to adopt, in her opinion, fairly routine, unimaginative pedagogy:

> when I first started off it was all about making sure that students are really engaged and making sure I had a really good activity planned for every lesson, whereas in the IB there's no time for that … sometimes it has to be boring and sometimes it is just we read, I talk, you listen, we write down and that's the end of it.

This school had limited funding for IBO professional development at this stage. Teachers employed on contract to teach the IBD as opposed to tenure were not considered, and expressed some frustration about this. The supervision of Extended Essays had also become a sore point, pitting departments against each other, and teachers against management because, as one teacher explained, "it's outside of anyone's job description". This school paid the teachers an additional allowance for supervising the extended essay above their usual load, but this had been rejected as tokenistic by one teacher. By the IB Coordinator's account,

> After a number of years we fought for it and gained the payment for supervising essays. … And [teacher] just told me recently that she wanted to be excluded from that on the point of principle, because she said the $[X] dollars was tokenism …

The majority of extended essay supervision was falling to the arts and humanities departments because the science department argued that the experimental requirements stipulated by the IBO placed unfair supervisory demands on their time. A science teacher explained the department's position further:

> It's not just one or two hours but it needs ten, fifteen, twenty hours of practical work which we can't fit in. We can't allow the students in the laboratory by themselves. Therefore, any practical work that's done under supervision which requires the extra time commitment is not recognised by the school in any sort of way … that's too much extra hours. We are all willing to give the extra hours to help them to understand their work … but the requirement is too big and it's not realistic.

Another science teacher contrasted her circumstances as a single mother to those of another teacher she met at an IBO event who lived on campus at a boarding school and returned to

supervise students after dinner. She was neither willing nor able to subsidise the IBD in the same way, and felt it placed unrealistic expectations on teachers.

The IBD coordinator role at this school was also intense and open-ended, but only replaced 2.5 lessons per week. This role had some administrative support, but less than in the past. One distinctive task at this school was fielding parents' complaints. Parent interaction and accountability was considered part and parcel of working in a high-fee school. The first IBD internal assessments in particular caused much protest when high achieving students failed to achieve their usual grades on more stringent criteria. This school invested significant time at staff meetings to monitor the progress and stress levels of each IBD student, displaying a strong ethos of pastoral care, "nursing" students through the workload peaks.

School C was under financial stress from falling enrolments across programs, hence how it operated the IBD was under review and the source of considerable anxiety. The IB Coordinator reported that, "I have been told we've been living in a paradise. We were fortunate that we have been able to run small classes." The IBD coordinator was under pressure to recruit more IBD enrolments to ensure its viability and had to defend the IBD in internal "battles" over resources. One scenario under discussion involved pruning offerings in each group of IBD subjects. This had produced some competitive jockeying within and between departments. One experienced teacher was quite angry at the decision not to offer his subject the following year, despite strong demand and good results. He was worried that his coming absence on long service leave would facilitate its removal. The language department was unsettled over the possibility that the number of language choices might be reduced. Part-time language teachers felt particularly vulnerable.

Notwithstanding these pressures, the teachers involved were very keen to continue as many IBD offerings as possible – it was clearly a desirable teaching allocation. One teacher described her

own strategy to this end: "For one year, I actually combined the Year 12s and 11s in the IB and that's really tough … I did that to actually ensure that I had a class". One teacher described the pleasures as stemming from the student body: "challenging and wonderful … The students are very, very focused, because they want to know about everything." Some teachers intended to seek employment at another IBD school if their particular subject was withdrawn. Three teachers independently said they would only consider work in an IB school thereafter.

To summarise work conditions in School C's curricular market, the teachers involved were strong advocates for the program, but increasingly dissatisfied with the pragmatic compromises being made to sustain it as an alternative in the face of the school's financial stress. A chance to teach in the IBD was relished for the kind of student it attracted making highly agreeable conditions for teachers' work. There were however more marginal members of the IBD staff, early career teachers on contracts who did not warrant the relevant professional development, or part-time staff who were more vulnerable in future rationalisations. The professional satisfactions derived from the IBD classes typically offset the extra time and work intensification it demanded, but this willingness to subsidise its demands had reached its limits with some staff. Despite being a socio-economically privileged school, it was more exposed to market fluctuations than the others, and these teachers were expected to absorb this stress in their work.

These three cases illustrate how the operation of the IBD in Australia is not one story but many as the external curricular commodity is necessarily enacted through the local culture, constraints and politics of each school. The IBD was not designed within any particular industrial agreement but rather, relies on being hosted. In these Australian settings, its ambitious scope and numerous dimensions often spilt over the formal timetable to be absorbed as private accommodations and subsidy by the teachers caught in an institutionally constructed guilt trap. Pragmatic timetabling often meant intensifying and refracting teacher's work plans across two levels or two curricula. By these accounts, the IBD produced both professional satisfactions, and

professional stresses. With this background to give a sense of how teachers are working in the curricular markets produced by the presence of the IBD, the next section presents the results of a survey conducted across 26 such schools.

Teachers and their differences

The online survey invited participation by teachers in schools that offered the IBD as an alternative to understand how the internal curricular market affects teachers' work. The survey collected demographic information and teaching duties then attitudinal responses to a range of statements about school curriculum in general and the IBD in particular. Teachers teaching the IBD at the time were asked additional questions about features of the IBD, the students, and their teaching experience. Respondents were offered open-ended questions for additional comment after each topical set throughout the survey.

Of the 253 survey respondents, 109 (43.1%) were male, and 141 (55.7%) female, 226 (89.3%) were Australian citizens, 198 (78.3%) were born in Australia, and 241 (95.3%) spoke English at home. However, 131 (51.8%) representing a large proportion, had lived in another country for 3 months or longer. The vast majority totalling 250 (98.8%) had completed four years of professional study, 68 (26.9%) had master degrees and 15 (5.9%) had doctorates. Career-wise, 144 (56.9% of responses to this item) had remained in the one state, while 55 (21.7%) had taught in more than one state in Australia, 73 (28.9%) in more than one country, and 16 (6%) across both states and countries. Such mobility would indicate professional experience in more than one curriculum. When surveyed, 19 (7.5%) were working in management and 12 (4.7 %) were teaching only in the IBD, while the majority of teachers (149, 58.9%) were teaching across both the IBD and the local curriculum, and 73 (28.9%) taught just the local curriculum.

Respondents were asked to indicate to what degree they agreed with attitudinal statements concerning the presence of the IBD as an alternative curriculum in their school on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), thus 4 would indicate a noncommittal response. These statements were developed from the pilot study. Table 1 summarises these responses, firstly by the mean and standard deviation across all respondents and then the mean for subcategories of teachers by (teaching both curriculum; teaching only local curriculum). The IBD only teachers were excluded in this analysis given their small numbers.

Table 1

Attitudinal responses re the general evaluation of the IBD as an alternative curriculum.

1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)	Mean (SD) N = 253	Means for sub-categories by teaching duties		t- test (df)
		IBD and local n = 149	Local only n = 73	
I think the IBD's external examinations make it more rigorous.	4.80 (1.9)	5.2	4.09	4.148* (217)
I think the IBD requires more intellectual work from teachers.	4.77 (1.9)	5.25	3.89	5.414* (217)
I think students who enrol in the IB receive a better education compared to other students.	4.25 (1.8)	4.47	3.74	2.76* (217)
I think IBD classes would be / are a pleasure to teach.	5.61 (1.5)	6.03	4.62	6.874* (122)
I would recommend the IBD as an alternative curriculum to other teachers and schools.	5.39 (1.6)	5.61	4.69	.000* (122)
I think the IBD consumes resources in a school that could be better used to support the local curriculum.	3.38 (1.8)	3.25	4.05	-3.093* (217)
I think the IBD curriculum cannot cater to local needs.	2.75 (1.5)	2.66	3.04	-1.547 (217)
I think it is difficult for schools to offer two senior schooling curricula at the same time.	3.97 (1.9)	3.99	4.05	-.345 (217)

* $p < .05$

Both groups of teachers agreed with the statement "I think IBD classes would be/are a pleasure to teach" which, with a mean of 5.61(SD = 1.5), recorded the highest endorsement. This would confirm that the IBD is typically producing "more agreeable" conditions for teachers' work across Australia. One teacher's additional comment, echoed by others, draws a relation between

the more agreeable IBD classroom and the conditions it produces elsewhere: "It is expensive to implement often draining resources from the school budget and allowing small classes to operate against [other curriculum] classes which are quite large. This alone benefits the academic achievement of the students doing the IB (more individualised attention) and therefore makes a comparison between the two unequal."

Six of these statements revealed a statistically significant ($p < .05$) contrast between mean responses from the two sub-groups. The first four statements speak to the internal demands of the IBD, in terms of its design and quality. Those teaching in the IBD were stronger in their endorsement. The second set of statements speaks more to its relational and contextual impact on school communities. Those teaching in the IBD defended and promoted the IBD alternative more strongly than those teaching in the local curriculum only. These patterns suggest that there may be different orientations developing amongst teachers differently positioned in the curricular market. Further comments flagged fracture lines within the professional community, stemming from both support of the IBD offering ("There is competition to teach the course in this and my previous school!"); and critique or "prejudice" by "anti – IB staff".

Respondents involved in teaching IBD classes, either exclusively or in tandem ($n = 161$), were asked to indicate on a scale of 1 (not a problem) to 7 (a major problem) to what degree issues around the implementation of the IBD had emerged as problems in their school (Table 2). It is telling that all issues were reported to have been problematic to some degree, with staffing, workload and timetable logistics considered the most problematic on average. This gives some sense of the institutional stresses produced by the school level strategy of offering curricular choice.

Table 2
Mean responses from IBD teachers re problems or challenges related to offering the IBD as an alternative curriculum in their school

1 (not a problem) to 7 (a major problem)		Mean (SD) N = 161
a.	Staffing the spread of curricular offerings	4.40 (1.86)
b.	Attracting enrolments for the IB Diploma	3.83 (1.89)
c.	Teacher's required background knowledge	3.58 (1.84)
d.	Workload issues when working across two curriculum	4.24 (1.99)
e.	Splitting the school community	3.81 (1.73)
f.	Availability of the necessary teaching resources	3.25 (1.77)
g.	Required assessment practices	3.27 (1.72)
h.	Equity of service across two curricula	3.65 (1.91)
i.	Timetable logistics	4.48 (1.78)
j.	Impact on staff morale	3.20 (1.77)
k.	Students dropping out of the IB	3.11 (1.52)

One teacher used the open-ended question to expand on the stresses of working across two curricula with limited resources:

> Because of staffing, timetabling, and money, teachers will be forced to not only combine HL [high level] /SL [standard level] IB courses next year, but they'll have to combine [local curriculum] students in that same class as well. That is essentially 3 classes in one. That is beyond a healthy challenge; that's a problem. The students' learning will be affected and the teacher will be crazy.

Table 3 reports how those teaching in the IBD arrived at those duties. Those categories that required active self-selection by the teacher (a, b, e), thus circumstances of their own choosing, amounted to 42.2% of the respondents' circumstances. One teacher expanded on the strategy pursued behind this choice:

> I specifically applied for this job in order to teach the IB Diploma programme. After accepting the job, I was informed at a later stage that staff were only to be given three years tenure at the school … I applied for a teaching job at [another school] again because the job specifically gave me the opportunity to continue teaching in the diploma programme (without the limited tenure).

Table 3
Percent responses from IBD teachers re 'Which response best describes how you came to teach in the IB Diploma?'

		Total (%) (N = 154)
a.	By internal application and selection within the school	20 (13.0%)
b.	By external application and selection from outside the school	21 (13.6%)
c.	By invitation for your disciplinary specialisation	38 (24.7%)
d.	Being allocated to teach IB classes	51 (33.1%)
e.	By volunteering	24 (15.6%)

For 33.1% of these respondents, the IBD was a teaching duty allocated to them (d), thus circumstances not necessarily of their choosing, as one respondent explained:

> I was in the end pressured to do it because none of my colleagues wanted anything to do with it and are still not interested at all in the IB. As Head of Department I then had to take it on, even though I would have rather not.

Respondents teaching in the IBD were asked to compare the working conditions between the IBD curriculum and the local alternative, using attributes developed from pilot study responses on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being "IB is much **less** so than the other curriculum," to 7 being "IB is much **more** so than the other curriculum". A response of 4 would indicate no difference. It

is important to note here that the "local" curriculum reflects a variety of curricula across different states, so the comparison is not about absolute qualities of the IBD, but rather a comparative, relational sense of its work conditions in each context. Table 4 shows that, except marginally in the case of parental involvement, teaching on the IBD was typically considered a case of "more" not less.

Table 4
Percent responses by IBD teachers to the question, "How does your experience teaching in the IB Diploma differ from teaching in the local curriculum? "

1 (IBD is much less so than the other curriculum) to 7 (IBD is much more so that the other curriculum).	Mean (SD) N = 156
a. Professional recognition	4.90 (1.30)
b. Professional support	4.75 (1.44)
c. Freedom and creativity in my teaching	4.46 (1.60)
d. Individual control of my program	4.54 (1.65)
e. Clarity of curriculum guidelines	4.99 (1.55)
f. Knowledge base necessary	5.42 (1.18)
g. Productive classroom interaction	5.10 (1.31)
h. Collegiality amongst staff	4.71 (1.33)
i. Student consultation	4.90 (1.31)
j. International perspectives	5.72 (1.17)
k. Accountability to parents	4.48 (1.14)
l. Parental involvement with curricular activities	3.92 (1.11)

So does such "moreness" make the IBD an unattractive or oppressive teaching allocation? Another question asked the IBD teaching respondents whether certain reputational features of the IBD attracted or deterred them, on a 7 point scale from 1 (a major deterrent) to 7 (a major attraction) with 4 indicating that the attribute was considered neither deterring nor attractive in itself (Table 5) .

Table 5
Mean responses by IBD teachers to the question, "When you considered teaching in the IBD, how did each aspect listed below affect your thinking? Did it attract you or deter you from teaching in the IB Diploma?"

1 (a major deterrent) to 7 (a major attraction)	Mean (SD) N= 158
a. The professional development required	5.37 (1.39)
b. The classroom environment	5.46 (1.36)
c. Future promotion prospects	4.58 (1.66)
d. The approach to curriculum	5.42 (1.45)
e. The intellectual standards	5.82 (1.27)
f. External assessment	4.76 (1.57)
g. The values	5.56 (1.32)
h. Its curricular resources	4.66 (1.40)
i. Its reputation	5.36 (1.34)
j. The possibility of professional mobility to other countries	4.89 (1.85)
k. The possibility of professional mobility to other states and sectors	4.60 (1.71)
l. Experience teaching an alternative curriculum	5.89 (1.25)
m. How the IBD treats my subject specialisation	5.41 (1.52)

The mean responses by IBD teachers suggest that teaching the IBD is generally considered an attractive opportunity, and that teachers enjoy the challenge of teaching an alternative curriculum (l), and its intellectual standards (e): "After a number of years of teaching, it was an opportunity to try something different – as a challenge professionally". Thus being asked for "more" need not be a bad thing, a finding which resonates with the case studies and Connell's (1985) description of teachers' attachment to the academic curriculum. Some respondents' commented further on what deterred them: "level of difficulty was a deterrent"; "the time involved in setting up the course was a huge deterrent"; "Amount of content to be covered…"

Respondents teaching in the IBD were asked to characterise the IBD student cohort against descriptors developed from the literature and pilot study, on a scale from 1 (does not describe IB students) to 7 (describes the vast majority of IB students) (see Table 6).

Table 6
Mean responses by IBD teachers to the question, "To what degree do the following factors describe the IB Diploma student cohort at your school?"

1 (does not describe IB students) to 7 (describes the vast majority of IB students).	Mean (SD) N = 160
a. Strong work ethic	5.54 (1.27)
b. Motivated learners	5.60 (1.18)
c. Autonomous learners	5.31 (1.25)
d. Academically strong	5.26 (1.11)
e. Internationally mobile lifestyle	4.49 (1.51)
f. Multilingual background	4.59 (1.56)
g. Aspires to university study	6.52 (0.81)
h. Interested in global affairs	5.47 (1.21)
i. Commitment to community service	5.19 (1.35)

The nature of the student group constitutes a major condition for teachers' day to day work, and by the responses summarised in Table 5, the majority of IBD students are considered hard working, motivated and relatively autonomous learners, by their teachers. Their strongest defining characteristic was reportedly their aspiration to university study, which means that the IBD classes typically will not suffer the tension between curriculum and non-academically inclined students which Connell (1985) and McLaughlin and Talbert (2001) described. Interestingly, the least distinct characteristics (internationally mobile lifestyle and multilingual background) were the characteristics of the community for whom the IBD was originally conceived. Their diminishing importance reflects the growing uptake of the IBD in local curricular markets.

Different curricula produce their own conditions through their internal design, while the institutional arrangements negotiated to embed alternative curricula produce relational conditions that impinge on teachers' work. From the survey trends, we would suggest that there are winners and losers emerging in the work conditions produced by curricular markets. Those choosing to teach in the branded alternative are winners to the extent that they derive professional satisfaction from its internal design, and this can offset any relational impact. Those drafted to teach in the branded curriculum face a steep learning curve, and the additional work of conducting two curricula, but will have access to its typically more agreeable work conditions. Those teaching only in the local curriculum risk becoming the losers. Their work will absorb the relational impact of the curricular market most noticeably in the loss of academically ambitious students to the branded alternative.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the nature and politics of teachers' work in curricular markets. The literature review identified a variety of workplace dimensions that shape teachers' work conditions, in particular the curriculum (Connell, 1985; Reid, 2003), policy environments (Ball, 1993), institutional culture (Ackers, 1999; McLaughlin & Talbert, 2001), professional guilt and emotions (Hargreaves, 1994), career phases (Helsby, 1999), fractures lines within teacher communities (Connell, 1985, McLaughlin & Talbert, 2001) and teachers' structural vulnerability (Kelchtermans, 2005; Day, 2010). Marketisation policies in particular were identified as a current force changing industrial conditions and workplace cultures for teachers (Ball, 1993: Robertson, 2000, 1996) thus troubling any social settlement around teachers' work. This empirical study has demonstrated how these dimensions do not operate in isolation of each other. Rather, it is their interactions that produce varied experiences for teachers positioned differently in the marketised school.

The IBD curriculum hosted within an institution with industrial conditions designed around another curricular tradition, poses its own challenges due to its ambitious design. In addition, its presence as an alternative in these schools creates a second order of relational issues around equitable resourcing, and workload logistics. This study has illustrated some of the contradictions and tensions building between the winners and the losers in these "conjunctural times" (Robertson, 2000, p.8).

Within a curricular market, different curricula will attract and aggregate different sorts of students under different logics, creating more or less agreeable settings for teachers' work. As demonstrated in the case studies, some schools have strategically exploited the IBD's reputation for rigour and challenge to attract and pool academically ambitious students in conducive conditions entailing high expectations of both students and staff. The case studies displayed a variety of pragmatic solutions to enacting tandem curricular offerings. Each school had embraced and embedded the IBD as an alternative in their school culture, but each site's modus operandi had produced rubbing points as the ambitious expectations of the IBD design were shoehorned into schedules and workload formulae designed for another curriculum. The novel practices of piggybacking one curriculum on another, bifurcating lesson plans, stealing time and outsourcing subjects were described with accounts of their professional strains. The survey suggested that divergent attitudes towards the alternative curriculum can form between teachers differently positioned in the market.

The fact that the alternative curriculum is a well-regarded, internationally branded commodity has inevitably shaped the responses it evokes. In these Australian settings, the IBD in itself was considered to typically ask more of teachers, but that was not necessarily considered a deterrent, given the satisfactions it promised in professional learning and practice. It demanded more time,

solved by both a relentless pacing of instruction, and forms of stealing or stretching school time. There was widespread agreement that IBD classrooms were agreeable workplaces, which helps explain why teachers are party to this work intensification. However, there was also some consciousness of a systemic "guilt trap" around the sequestering of resources or talent in the IBD to the detriment of the local curriculum. In the case studies this trap manifested as a personal guilt "trip", or as pockets of simmering resentment or discomfort about the IBD's resourcing.

We have shown how this reform like others has contradictory facets (Hargreaves 1994). For teachers at different career stages, the curricular market can present very different challenges with some teachers more structurally vulnerable than others. For the early career teacher, a second curriculum can complicate the first demanding years of teaching. The contract teacher may not have equal claim on professional development investments by the school, and the part-time teacher is easy picking when cuts loom. On the other hand, for the more experienced, "professionally confident" teacher, the challenge of the new can be energising and rewarding. However, we would argue that employing only the professionally confident teacher on the branded curriculum would be short-sighted because it could exacerbate the inequitable relational impact on the local curriculum's programs. While many teaching in the IBD become strong advocates for its design, their enthusiasm does not account for the market's relational impact on other programs' students and teachers in the host institution.

Should teachers' work conditions in curricular markets become an industrial issue? Connell (1985) warned that reform that doesn't take teachers' conditions into account overlooks exactly the people who can make change happen: "Teachers' interests have to be protected in the process of educational reform, and if possible engaged in making the reforms work. … There is constant pressure on teachers to sacrifice their interests to those of the kids, variously

interpreted" (pp. 202-203). This study documented how teachers willingly subsidised this market strategy, but also where such personal subsidy had reached it limits. These schools are amongst the first to establish internal curricular markets, thus the stresses have been largely absorbed as private troubles rather than addressed as systemic issues. If the school strategy of internal curricular markets spreads to more sites under neoliberal policy conditions, an effort to aggregate such experience could force more collective consideration of these new institutional conditions, and about who should be expected to absorb the stress and relational fallout of schools' market strategies.

Acknowledgement: This research was funded by the Australian Research Council.

References:

Acker, S. (1999). *The realities of teachers' work: Never a dull moment*. London: Cassell.

Allen, B., & Readman, K. (2009). External examinations beyond national borders: Queensland (Australia) and the International Baccalaureate. In B. Vlaardingerbroek & N. Taylor (Eds.), *Secondary school external examination systems: Reliability, robustness and resilience* (pp. 303-317). Amherst: Cambria Press.

Bagnall, N. (2005). The IB in Australia and New Zealand in the 21st century. *Change: Transformations in Education, 8*(1), 110-123.

Ball, S. J. (1993). Education Policy, Power Relations and Teachers' Work. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 41*(2), 106-121.

Bunnell, T. (2008). The global growth of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme over the first 40 years: a critical assessment. *Comparative Education, 44*(4), 409-424.

Cambridge, J. (2010). The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme and the construction of pedagogic identity: a preliminary study. *Journal of Research in International Education, 9*(3), 199-213.

Connell, R. (1985). *Teachers' work*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Connell, W. F. (1993). *Reshaping Australian education 1960 -1985*. Melbourne: ACER.

Conner, J. (2009). From international schools to inner-city schools: The first principles of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program. *Teachers College Record, 110*(2), 322-351.

Corbett, M. (2007). Building blocks for a critical curriculum: Outcomes-based education and the International Baccalaureate. *Professional Educator, 6*(2), 26-31.

Day, C. (2011). Uncertain professional identities: Managing the emotional contexts of teaching. In C. Day & J. C.-K. Lee (Eds.), *New understandings of teacher's work: Emotions and educational change* (pp. 1-14). Dordrecht: Springer.

Day, C., & Lee, J. C.-K. (Eds.). (2011). *New understandings of teacher's work: Emotions and educational change*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Doherty, C. (2009). The appeal of the International Baccalaureate in Australia's educational market: a curriculum of choice for mobile futures. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education, 30*(2), 73 - 89

Doherty, C. (in press). Optimising meritocratic advantage with the International Baccalaureate Diploma in Australian schools. *Critical Studies in Education*.

Doherty, C., Mu, L., & Shield, P. (2009). Planning mobile futures: the border artistry of IB Diploma choosers. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 30*(6), 757-771.

Halicioglu, M. (2008). The IB Diploma programme in national schools: The case of Turkey. *Journal of Research in International Education, 7*(2), 164-183.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). *Changing teachers, changing times: Teachers' work and culture in the postmodern age*. London: Cassell.

Hayden, M., & Wong, C. (1997). The International Baccalaureate: international education and cultural preservation. *Educational Studies, 23*(3), 349-361.

Helsby, G. (1999). *Changing teachers' work: The "reform" of secondary schooling*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Heyward, M. (2002). From international to intercultural：Redefining the international school for a globalized world *Journal of Research in International Education, 1*(1), 9-32.

Hill, I. (2002). The International Baccalaureate: Policy process in education. *Journal of Research in International Education, 1*(2), 183-211.

Hugman, A. (2008). *Can a local and an international senior science curriculum successfully coexist in one Australian high school?* Paper presented at the AARE 2008 International Education Research Conference Retrieved from http://www.aare.edu.au/08pap/abs08.htm#H

Kelchtermans, G. (2005). Teachers' emotions in educational reforms: self-understanding, vulnerable commitment and micropolitical literacy. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*, 995-1006.

Levin, H., & Belfield, C. (2003). The marketplace in education. *Review of Research in Education, 27*, 183-219.

Lowe, J. (2000). International examinations: the new credentialism and reproduction of advantage in a globalising world. *Assessment in Education., 7*(3), 363-377.

MacDonald, J. (2006). The international school industry: Examining international schools through an economic lens. *Journal of Research in International Education, 5*(2), 191-213.

MacKenzie, P., Hayden, M., & Thompson, J. (2003). Parental priorities in the selection of international schools. *Oxford Review of Education, 29*(3), 299-314.

McLaughlin, M., & Talbert, J. (2001). *Professional communities and the work of high school teaching.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Paris, P. G. (2003). The International Baccalaureate: A case study on why students choose to do the IB. *International Education Journal 4*(3), 232 - 243.

Payne, P. (2005). "Ways of doing," learning, teaching and researching *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education, 10*, 108-124.

Poonoosamy, M. (2010). The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in post-colonial Mauritius: reaffirming local identities and knowledges. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 30*(1), 15-30.

Reid, A. (2003). Understanding teachers' work: is there still a place for labour process theory? *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 24*(5), 559-573.

Resnick, J. (2009). Multicultural education - good for business but not for the state? The IB curriculum and global capitalism. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 57*(3), 217-244.

Robertson, S. (1996). Teachers' work, restructuring and postfordism: Constructing the new "Professionalism". In J. Marshall & M. Peters (Eds.), *Education Policy* (Vol. 12, pp. 389 - 415). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Robertson, S. (2000). *A class act: Changing teachers' work, globalisation and the state*. New York: Falmer Press.

Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2003). Major issues and controversies in the use of mixed methods in the social and behavioral sciences. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research* (pp. 3-50). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Teese, R. (2000). *Academic success and social power: Examinations and inequality*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Van Oord, L. (2007). To westernize the nation? An analysis of the International Baccalaureate's philosophy of education. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 37*(3), 375 - 390.

Yates, L., Collins, C., & O'Connor, K. (Eds.). (2011). *Australia's curriculum dilemmas: State cultures and the big issues*. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press.